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ABSTRACT

This study investigated the effect of institutional size and complexity on professional autonomy in academic institutions. Autonomy was defined as the ability to set goals and to structure the organization to maximize professional concerns; size was measured by the number of faculty members and students in the institutions. Data were gathered from 241 colleges and universities in the United States, and from more than 9,200 individual faculty members and administrators using a questionnaire. Responses to the questionnaire were examined with regard to patterns of decisionmaking, departmental control over faculty selection, courses, tenure, and budgets; and peer evaluation. The data showed a strong trend toward greater faculty autonomy in larger institutions. It is hypothesized that this was so because the larger institutions had more complex tasks and were divided into more specialized units composed of more highly trained experts whose expertise gave them power to demand the autonomy they desired. The larger schools had less centralization of decisionmaking, fewer bureaucratic regulations covering professional tasks, more departmental and individual autonomy, more evaluation by peers, and greater protection from outside demands. A 10-item bibliography is included. (Author)

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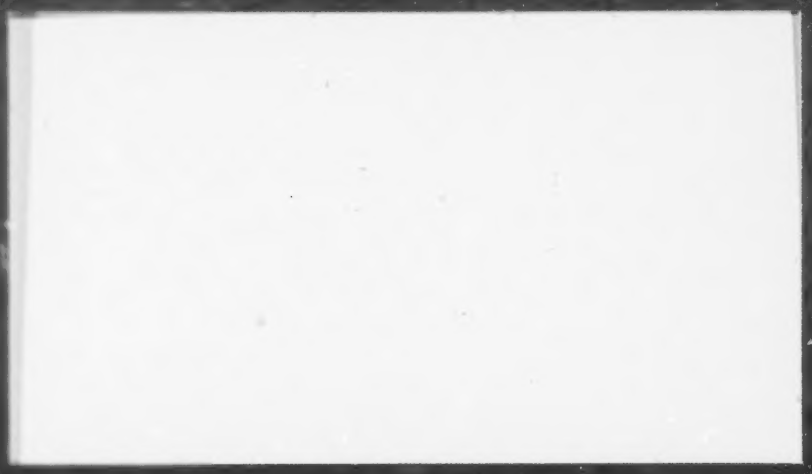

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Research and Development Memorandum No. 109

INSTITUTIONAL SIZE AND PROFESSIONAL AUTONOMY: THE DEATH OF THE SMALL COLLEGE MYTH?

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Introductory Statement

The Center's mission is to improve teaching in American schools. Too many teachers still employ a didactic style aimed at filling passive students with facts. The teacher's environment often prevents him from changing his style, and may indeed drive him out of the profession. And the children of the poor typically suffer from the worst teaching.

The Center uses the resources of the behavioral sciences in pursuing its objectives. Drawing primarily upon psychology and sociology, but also upon other behavioral science disciplines, the Center has formulated programs of research, development, demonstration, and dissemination in three areas. Program 1, Teaching Effectiveness, is now developing a Model Teacher Training System that can be used to train both beginning and experienced teachers in effective teaching skills. Program 2, The Environment for Teaching, is developing models of school organization and ways of evaluating teachers that will encourage teachers to become more professional and more committed. Program 3, Teaching Students from Low-Income Areas, is developing materials and procedures for motivating both students and teachers in low-income schools.

The Stanford Project on Academic Governance, part of the Environment for Teaching Program, is concerned with decision making and professional autonomy in colleges and universities. This paper examines the relationship between structural features of educational institutions and academic decision making.

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Abstract

This study, part of a larger study of academic governance, investigated the effect of institutional size and complexity on professional autonomy in academic institutions. Autonomy was defined as the ability to set goals and to structure the organization to maximize professional concerns; size was measured by the number of faculty members and students in the institution.

Data were gathered from 241 colleges and universities in the United States, and from more than 9,200 individual faculty members and administrators, through a questionnaire. Responses to the questionnaire were examined with regard to patterns of decision making; departmental control over faculty selection, courses, tenure, and budgets; and peer evaluation.

The data showed a strong trend toward greater faculty autonomy in larger institutions. It is hypothesized that this was so because the larger institutions had more complex tasks and were divided into more specialized units composed of more highly trained experts whose expertise gave them power to demand the autonomy they desired. The larger schools had less centralization of decision making, fewer bureaucratic regulations covering professional tasks, more departmental and individual autonomy, more evaluation by peers, and greater protection from outside demands.

INSTITUTIONAL SIZE AND PROFESSIONAL AUTONOMY:

THE DEATH OF THE SMALL COLLEGE MYTH?

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In recent years there has been a growing public interest in the struggle over academic freedom and autonomy in colleges and universities. Despite the wish of academic professionals to be left alone by the outside world, the college campus is now less a haven and more an area of conflict. These professionals have responded to the dual threats of political and bureaucratic interference in academia in many ways: the movements toward unionization, increased organizing efforts by the American Association of University Professors, and the growth of internal decision-making bodies such as academic senates, all represent deliberate attempts to influence decision making, to control power, and to protect academic autonomy.

Although controversial figures, constant political pressure, and the growing mood of protectionism among faculties have dominated the public's attention to academic autonomy issues, other influences have had an impact on the academic power struggle--in particular, organizational factors such as size and complexity, which directly affect the professor's freedom and ability to do specialized, personally defined

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Prepared with the assistance of Jeanette Wheeler, Project Writer.

work. As the number of multiversities grows, the structural features of institutions loom even larger as forces that affect work styles, academic freedom, and decision-making processes. In the long run, the relentless growth of complex bureaucracies and massive size may influence academic autonomy long after the current hot debates have cooled down. Will those relentless institutional and structural growth patterns enhance or undermine academic autonomy?

The Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching has sponsored a project dealing with decision making and academic autonomy in colleges and universities. This study, called the Stanford Project on Academic Governance (SPAG), is a comparative, empirical study designed to investigate the attitudes and activities of teachers, researchers, and administrators and the impact of organizational characteristics on the academic professional's environment. The project gathered data from 241 colleges, universities, and community colleges in the United States. The sample was drawn from the College Entrance Examination Board file of 2,594 collegiate institutions meeting the following criteria: (1) have a freshman class, (2) award at least an Associate (two-year) degree, and (3) are not federal institutions (the service academies). The 241 institutions constituted a random sample of all academic institutions in the United States which met the above criteria.

The sources of the data included the College and University Blue Book, a commercially prepared compilation of statistics on higher education; college catalogs from each institution; an institutional

questionnaire requesting information from each central administration; and individual questionnaires completed by a sample of faculty members and administrators at each institution. Over 9,200 people responded to various project questionnaires, representing a 53.4 percent return.

The Problem: Does Size Affect Academic Autonomy?

Let us consider the dilemma of Professor Wilson, a hypothetical young college professor faced with a decision whether to accept a position with a small college or a large university. Assuming that other factors such as salary and prestige are equal in his case, his choice will be based on where he can maximize his professional autonomy. Where can he best protect his specialized academic interests and retain the freedom to teach, write, and conduct research without interference? If we are to believe academic mythology, the "community of scholars" is found only in small colleges, those intimate professional enclaves wherein the faculty members can pursue their intellectual interests. Paul Goodman and John Millet, for instance, argue for a "collegial" image that implies cooperation and intimacy, generally in a small college that has escaped the creeping bureaucratization that so badly infects the multiversities. In essence, the community of scholars is warning us against the dangers of that complicated bureaucracy, the large university.

But is the mythology true? Do the large size and structural complexity of an organization negatively affect the work of its professional members? Does the large, complex university restrict the professor's academic freedom by burying him in bureaucratic red tape?

Is the multiversity an intricate structure that stifles individual action and restricts professional decision making? Would Professor Wilson be wise to avoid the larger school and head for the community of scholars lodged in the smaller institution?

Our research strongly indicates that small colleges do not necessarily promote academic freedom. On the contrary, the research shows that large, complex institutions may have many real advantages--more professional autonomy, fewer bureaucratic constraints, and more individual influence for the academic professional.

We defined the concept of professional autonomy as the ability of the faculty to set institutional goals and to structure the organization to maximize their professional concerns. Not only does the professional want control over the core tasks of teaching, research, and service, he needs to be able to determine the means by which these tasks are accomplished. More specifically, professional autonomy means the ability of the professional to decide his own work patterns, to actively participate in major academic decision making, to have work evaluated by professional peers, and to be relatively free of bureaucratic regulations and restrictions. To the degree that the professionals have this autonomy, the faculty is powerful. For the purposes of this study, organizational size was defined as the number of professors and students in the academic organization.

In order to determine the impact of institutional size on professional autonomy and faculty power, we examined three distinct patterns. These are <u>patterns of decision making</u>, the institutional and

departmental centralization of decision-making power; patterns of control, departmental autonomy and freedom from bureaucratic regulation; and patterns of evaluation, the amount of peer evaluation. Tables 1 and 2 summarize the data.

Patterns of Decision Making

A main element of the autonomy picture deals with the institutional and departmental decision patterns. To answer the question of whether institutional decisions were concentrated in a few hands or dispersed widely, we asked:

> At the institutional level, which one of the following statements nearly characterizes the decision-making processes on major academic policy questions: (check one)
>
> Dominated by the central administration and the trustees. _____1
>
> Dominated by central administration, trustees, and small cliques of professors..... _____2
>
> Strong leadership from officials, but much influence by a broad spectrum of faculty through committees, faculty senates, etc..... _____3
>
> More or less democratically run by faculty, administration, and trustees working together..... _____4

High decision centralization was indicated by answering either 1 or 2 on the above question. Among the large and medium schools, only a minority reported strong centralization--27 and 25 percent respectively. Both reported that a broad spectrum of faculty participated in decision patterns through committees, faculty senates, and departmental groups. Among the small schools, however, 40 percent reported high decision centralization, indicating domination by central administration, trustees, and cliques of faculty.

TABLE 1

Percentage of Institutions in Each Category of Size
Reporting Various Types of Academic Autonomy

Academic Autonomy Factors	Size of Institution		
	Small (0-75) N=134	Medium (76-300) N=118	Large (over 300) N=48
I. PATTERNS OF DECISION MAKING			
A. Institutional Centralization: % reporting that institutional decision making is centralized in a few hands	40%	25%	27%
B. Departmental Centralization: % reporting that departmental decision making is centralized in a few hands	38	60	67
II. PATTERNS OF CONTROL			
A. Departmental Autonomy:			
1. % reporting High Control over faculty selection	11	39	79
2. % reporting High Control over course additions	31	34	50
3. % reporting High Control over tenure and promotion	12	36	83
4. % reporting High Control over budget allocation	37	31	38
B. Freedom from Bureaucratic Regulation:			
1. % reporting Low regulation over travel	44	47	69
2. % reporting Low regulation over individual professors' courses	31	29	50

TABLE 1 (Continued)

Academic Autonomy Factors	Size of Institution		
	Small (0-75) N=134	Medium (76-300) N=118	Large (over 300) N=48
3. % reporting Low amount of detail in work specification in contracts	21	37	58
III. PATTERNS OF EVALUATION			
A. Peer Evaluation: % reporting High peer evaluation	17	32	63

Note: Because of the large number of two-year colleges, a strictly random sample of all collegiate institutions would result in an insufficient number of four-year colleges and of universities. After undersampling two-year colleges by one-half, the data was weighted by statistically doubling all information on two-year colleges to represent their true proportion. Thus, the adjusted N = 300, rather than 241.

TABLE 2

Correlation Between Size of Institution and Measures of Professional Autonomy

	Zero Order Correlation
I. PATTERNS OF DECISION MAKING	
A. Institutional Centralization	.043
B. Departmental Centralization	.203
II. PATTERNS OF CONTROL	
A. Departmental Autonomy	
1. Faculty Selection	.466
2. Course Additions	.249
3. Tenure and Promotions	.521
4. Budget Allocation	.010
B. Freedom from Bureaucratic Regulation	
1. Low regulation over travel	.298
2. Low regulation over individual professors' courses	.176
3. Low amount of detail in work specification in contracts	.296
III. PATTERNS OF EVALUATION	
A. Peer Evaluation	.309

To answer the question of whether departmental decisions were concentrated in a few hands or dispersed widely, we asked:

> In your department, which one of the following statements most nearly characterizes the decision-making processes over general academic policies: (check one)
>
> Dominated by a strong chairman or head..... _____1
>
> Dominated by a small clique of professors..... _____2
>
> Strong leadership, but nevertheless clear input from a wide spectrum of faculty through committees, etc..... _____3
>
> More or less democratically run by faculty working together..... _____4

Departmental decision centralization was indicated by answering either 1 or 2 on the above question. It was reported that decision making at the department level was placed in the hands of a strong chairman or clique of professors in 67 percent of the larger schools, 60 percent of the medium-sized schools, and 38 percent of the small schools. The overall correlation between size of school and departmental centralization was 0.203. The larger the school, the more likely the faculty was to say that departmental decision making was concentrated in the hands of a strong chairman or a small clique of professors.

The finding that departments in larger schools handled major decisions in a centralized fashion, by a strong department head, was somewhat surprising. Initially we presumed that since all other characteristics of large schools pointed to more autonomy and more decentralized decision processes, we would find highly democratic decision styles in the various departments. The results, however, showed larger size to be related to greater departmental centralization.

Several factors seem to have been operating.

First, because power throughout the institution was highly decentralized in large institutions, the departments themselves made important, long-range decisions. Perhaps the central administrations were willing to relinquish these important decisions, if a strong departmental administrator would be clearly responsible. Thus, a notion of accountability for decentralized decisions might account for the strong departmental leadership. Second, departments in larger schools tended to be larger, and, as a result, a smaller percentage of people necessarily were involved in critical decisions. Therefore, larger departmental size and the need for a small group of decision makers could account for the perception among faculty members that their departments were strongly administered. Finally, it is entirely reasonable that a department wanting to protect its autonomy from the central administration would invest a large amount of power in its chairman. Any social group, when threatened by outsiders, vests great power in its leaders to deal effectively with the threat.

In short, the strong departmental leadership in large institutions, which are otherwise highly decentralized and provide much autonomy for the faculty, is not so surprising as it first appears. It can probably be explained by three factors: accountability in a decentralized system; the need for a small group to make efficient decisions for large departments; and the faculty's willingness to relinquish power to the department chairman to protect itself against the central administrators. In fact, strong departmental leadership may be a necessary

condition for decentralization to work within the complex structure of the whole institution.

Patterns of Control

A second concern of the professional in achieving autonomy is departmental autonomy, the freedom of the department to control its own work behavior. Professionals engage in specialized tasks located within individual departments. Consequently, they not only demand freedom and autonomy for themselves individually, but also argue for freedom for their departments--the institutionalized clusters of highly expert professionals. Burton R. Clark (1963) describes this view of the college and university control structure.

> In the college or university . . . there are 12, 25, or 50 clusters of experts. The experts are prone to identify with their own disciplines, and the "academic profession" over-all comes off a poor second. We have wheels within wheels, many professions within a profession. No one of the disciplines on campus is likely to dominate the others. . . . The campus is not a closely knit group of professionals who see the world from one perspective. As a collection of professionals, it is decentralized, loose and flabby.
>
> The principle is this: where professional influence is high and there is one dominant professional group, the organization will be integrated by the imposition of professional standards. Where professional influence is high and there are a number of professional groups, the organization will be split by professionalism. The college and the university are fractured by expertness, not unified by it. The sheer variety of experts supports the tendency for authority to diffuse downward toward quasi-autonomous clusters (p. 63).

Departmental Autonomy

This study examined departmental power over four areas of control: the selection of faculty, course additions, awarding tenure and

promotion, and budget allocations.

In the first of these areas, the selection of faculty, the statistics clearly show that the larger the size of the institution, the greater the departmental control. High departmental autonomy in faculty selection was reported in 79 percent of the large schools, compared to only 39 percent of the medium-sized schools and 11 percent of the small schools. Our conclusion is also reflected in the 0.466 correlation between size and faculty selection.

Second, increased size increased departmental control over course additions. Fifty percent of the large schools reported high departmental autonomy in course additions, whereas medium-szied schools reported 34 percent and the small schools 31 percent. The overall correlation between size and course selection was 0.249.

Third, increased size increased departmental control over tenure and promotion. Of the large schools, 83 percent reported high departmental autonomy in granting tenure and promotion, contrasted with 36 percent of the medium-sized schools and 12 percent of the small schools. The overall correlation between size and control over tenure and promotion was 0.521.

Finally, we asked whether departments had control over budgets. In light of the other results, we expected larger schools to have more discretion, but the results show no significant differences. The percentage of schools reporting departmental autonomy in budget allocations was 38 percent of the large, 31 percent of the medium, and 37 percent of the small schools. Thus, the size of the institution seems

to have had no effect on departmental budget control.

To summarize the issue of departmental autonomy, the findings suggest that larger, more complex schools are divided into specialized units where like-minded professionals are clustered. Because large schools are more specialized and their departments more focused on a discipline, each department assumes the power to select its faculty, control its courses, and arrange for promotions and tenure. Even in these highly specialized departments, however, the power of budget allocations is still reserved for the administration.

Freedom from Bureaucratic Regulation

Because of their unique personal skills, professionals desire as little work standardization and restriction as possible. A professor, for example, prefers a minimum of bureaucratic control in the areas of professional travel, individual determination of courses to be taught, and contractual details of work specifications. We used each of these areas as an indicator of the general level of bureaucratic regulation over work activities in colleges and universities of different sizes.

First, we examined how strongly the institution regulated the professional's absence from school in order to travel on professional business. Sixty-nine percent of the large schools reported low control over individual professors' travel, whereas 47 percent of the medium-sized schools and 44 percent of the small schools reported low control. Our conclusion that increased size was associated with increased freedom from travel regulations is confirmed by the correlation of 0.298.

Second, the increased size of the institution decreased the

regulations regarding individual courses the professor had to teach each term. The data show that 50 percent of the large schools reported low control over course assignment, in contrast with 29 percent of the medium and 31 percent of the small schools. The overall correlation between size and regulation over courses to be taught was 0.176.

The last indicator concerned the details of work specified in individual professors' contracts. Larger schools had much more flexible, open-ended contracts, whereas smaller schools had more highly detailed, rigid contracts. Fifty-eight percent of the large schools reported low control over contract specifications; medium-sized and small schools reported 37 percent and 21 percent respectively. Again, this conclusion is evident in the overall correlation between size and contract specificity, which was 0.296.

These findings suggest that larger, more complex schools offer the professional more freedom from bureaucratic rules, regulations, and standardized operating procedures--just the opposite of the common myth. To the extent that the faculty is self-regulating in these matters, it is autonomous and, therefore, powerful.

Patterns of Evaluation

Finally, we investigated the patterns of evaluation, an increasingly important indicator of professional autonomy. In assessing the effect of size on the evaluation of work, we asked, "When evaluation is done, how much is done by the professionals themselves? So rigorous are the demands of scholarship and research, and so particular are the skills required of departmental specialists, that the college

administration can no longer judge the quality of performance. Since the departmental faculty members have the expertise in highly specialized areas of learning, it is their evaluation that is most valued by their fellow academics. Consequently, when work is evaluated--as it must be for promotions, tenure, or salaries--professionals demand evaluation by professional peers, not by administrators, students, or outsiders.

In this study, peer evaluation in a given institution was measured by first listing work activities such as research, teaching, and administration; next, determining the people who had the power to evaluate these activities (i.e., administrators, department heads, other professors, experts outside the school); and then, determining the ratio of faculty members to other evaluators. The school was rated high on peer evaluation if the faculty had been evaluating the work, as opposed to the administration or any other evaluative group.

We found that 63 percent of the larger schools sampled indicated that the faculty was judging the quality of work, as opposed to 32 percent of the medium-sized schools and only 17 percent of the small schools. The overall correlation between size and peer evaluation was 0.309. Of all the evaluation going on in the colleges and universities sampled, more than three times as much was performed by the professional peer group in large schools as in the small ones.

Summary of Findings

In summary, the larger and more complex the school, the more likely it was to be divided into specialized units, or departments--

the homes for professional experts. The professionals we sampled demanded autonomy because they had the expertise to do complex tasks, and wished to be left alone to achieve them. Along every dimension of professional autonomy increased size and complexity contributed to increased faculty power, authority, and autonomy.

First, faculty in larger institutions reported that in their opinion decision-making power was more dispersed and less concentrated in a few hands. On the other hand, faculty in smaller schools indicated that decision-making processes at the institutional level were more centralized. In fact, one respondent from a small college said "Our school, like most small places, is run by a president who is a petty tyrant, meddling in everything we do!" This was not the case for all small institutions, but the overall pattern is clear. However, departmental decision-making power tended to be more concentrated in the chairman's hands in larger institutions.

Second, larger institutions supported higher levels of departmental autonomy. Professors identified strongly with their discipline, and authority had become lodged in the cadre of individuals sharing the power of the strong academic departments. In larger institutions, characterized by a high degree of faculty expertise and task complexity, more discretion was awarded to the department to select its faculty, control its courses, and arrange for promotions and tenure.

Third, there was more individual autonomy in larger schools. Having special knowledge at their command, most academic professionals tended to actively seek independence from organizational controls and

routinization. Complex schools afforded the professionals more freedom from bureaucratic regulations and standardized operating procedures in control over their travel activities, the actual courses they were required to teach, and the specific details of their contracts.

Finally, professionals in the larger colleges and universities engaged in a greater degree of peer evaluation than their colleagues in smaller schools. The evaluation of academic performance by professional peers with the same specialization was almost uniform.

Interpretation

How can we explain the positive relationship between size and professional autonomy? Size does not explain the dynamics, the actual processes by which increased numbers affect the social work setting of a professional. What are the dynamic processes that probably link size and autonomy?

More Complex Tasks

Increased size is probably related to more complex tasks, such as conducting esoteric research, teaching graduate students, and consulting on outside projects. In turn, more complex tasks require more highly trained experts, experts who demand and receive more autonomy. Our data show correlations of about .50 between size and measures of faculty expertise, such as proportion holding Ph.D., rates of book publication, and rates of article publication. In short, the equation probably goes like this: larger size is linked to more complex tasks, which require highly trained experts, who demand and get more autonomy to do their specialized activities.

More Differentiation

A second dynamic process that helps explain the positive influence of size on autonomy is "differentiation," the division of complex organizations into units. Large organizations tend to fragment into specialized departments concentrating on unique tasks. Correlations between size and specialization have always been high when sociologists have analyzed the relationship: we found .70 in this study, Burnham (1972) found .81, and Blau (1970) found .91. These findings argue a very simple point: the larger the size, the more specialized units there are.

Why does this increased differentiation result in more professional autonomy? In effect, larger size means that the individual professional deals primarily with a small unit, not with the whole organization. Having to perform highly specialized tasks, the academic professional requires a large degree of autonomy to achieve those tasks. Academic departments in large institutions then grow in power because they are composed of individuals who possess the information and expertise. Thus, expertise becomes power, as increased institutional complexity contributes to the growth of autonomous power centers--the academic departments. In short, more specialized units grow up as size increases; these units are increasingly esoteric and discipline-centered; the experts in them demand and obtain more autonomy. To put it another way, the growth of specialized units gives the professionals more places to hide in a large institution, out of the glaring spotlight of administrative scrutiny.

Protection from Environmental Intrusion

So far we have offered two reasons why increased size increases professional autonomy: (1) more complex tasks, which require experts who demand autonomy, and (2) more differentiation, which creates strong professional departments, little enclaves of professional experts who can successfully manage their own affairs. Let us suggest a final factor: protection from environmental intrusion.

Our research suggested that a factor which most significantly decreased professional autonomy was control over vital institutional resources by outside groups--legislatures, church groups, special interest groups. In fact, when "environmental pressure" factors were correlated with professional autonomy, a negative correlation of about -.50 resulted. Thus the more environmental control, the less professional control there was.

Increased size apparently acted as a buffer against environmental pressure, since the smaller schools' faculties lost more autonomy from environmental pressure than the larger schools' faculties, even when the levels of pressure were about equal. Again, the big institutions seemed to offer more places to hide, and the individual professor and his department were more insulated from environmental demands. Does the state legislature demand cost-accounting for faculty time? By the time the regulation finally gets down to the individual faculty member in a large institution, endless layers of sympathetic administrators have gradually undermined the regulation's effectiveness and protected the faculty against intrusion. Does a conservative benefactor want

less radical professors on campus? In the large institution radicals can hide away safely within the shelter of their departments, attracting less attention and surrounded by sympathetic allies. In short, increased size increases the number of sheltered professional enclaves where faculty can escape the harsh scrutiny of outside groups.

Conclusion

Now let us return to Professor Wilson and his dilemma. What size college or university should he join if he wants to maximize his professional autonomy? This study shows that the large college or university will provide him the greatest opportunity to participate in academic decision making and to preserve a high degree of autonomy. Our research may help explode the myth that small colleges best provide a life of academic freedom. On the contrary, we found that larger schools provide the most autonomous work environment for the professional. The multiversity may yet prove a threat to cherished values, and the small college may still be an enclave of professional opportunity, but, at least as we have measured it, professional autonomy has a better chance in the multiversity than in the legendary small college environment.

This does not mean, of course, that all large universities are havens of autonomy--many are definitely not. Petty tyrants may hang their hats there as well as in small colleges. Nor do our results imply that all small colleges are restrictive and that their administrations are constantly breathing down the professors' necks. To be sure, there are many splendid examples of small, elite, highly

professional colleges that actually resemble the legendary "community of scholars." Professors at Dartmouth, Reed, Swarthmore, and Antioch would probably deny our picture of the small college as having more centralized decision processes and less professional autonomy.

Nevertheless, in spite of the obvious exceptions, our data show a strong general trend toward greater autonomy in larger institutions. In those schools there is less centralization of decision making, less bureaucratic red tape around core professional tasks, more departmental power, and higher levels of peer evaluation. Three factors probably explain most of the difference: more complex tasks coupled with higher expertise; more departmental differentiation around those tasks, producing strong professional enclaves; and greater protection from environmental demands. The overall trends are clear, and the results, if taken seriously, could challenge widely held academic myths about the small college as a haven for academic freedom and the large multiversity as a bureaucratic beast that shackles professional freedom.

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